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a male "child of clan" are "daughters"; sons and daughters of female "child of clan" are "children of the clan." 601

The kinship system as noted above for the blood relatives is classified largely on a generation basis. The classification of the father's sister and her descendants completely disregards the generation principle, while the mother's mother's brother's children and the mother's brother's children who are classified as "sons" and "daughters" disregard the generation principle on the mother's side. The naming of these lineages relates them to lineages in other family lines and becomes the basis of an integration into clans.

Figures 9–12 illustrate the Mandan system by means of lineage charts whereby a vertical grouping of kin based on matrilineal descent occurs rather than a "horizonal" one based on bilateral descent. In ego's own lineage some differences occur; a female occupies a somewhat different position from a male, and the terms vary for a male ego and a female ego. Since the mother's mother's brother is considered by both a male and female as a "male of the clan," ego (male) classifies his sister's sons and daughters as well as his sister's daughter's sons and daughters as "children of the clan." 601 613.

In ego's father's lineage all the women are "father's sisters" or "grandmothers," the latter term being used only for one's own known direct ascendants. All husbands of women of the father's lineage are grandfathers; all sons of "father's sisters" are fathers and their children are siblings. An examination of Figures 9–12 for the father's and the mother's father's lineage will show that they are of the same lineage.

For a male ego, his male relatives in the mother's lineage are differentiated as mother's brother, older or younger brother, and "child of the clan"; for a female they are mother's brother, younger brother, son, and grandchild. Since both male and female call the mother's brother and mother's mother's brother "brother of the mother's clan," a man calls his sister's children and his sister's daughter's children "children of the clan."

Men marrying females of male ego's generation or younger are brothers-in-law (male relatives-in-law), while a female marrying a man of male ego's age or older is "brother's wife," those younger being "grandchild." For a female ego, men

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601 marrying into the lineage are "grandfather," "father," and
613 "brother-in-law," while one marrying into the mother's lineage
younger than female ego is treated as "young man," since the
[606] mother-in-law taboo becomes operative with this class of male

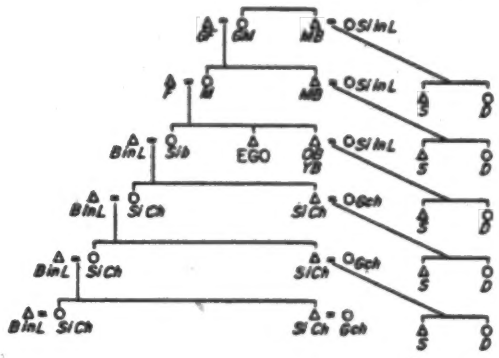

FIG. 9.—Mother's lineage. Ego = male

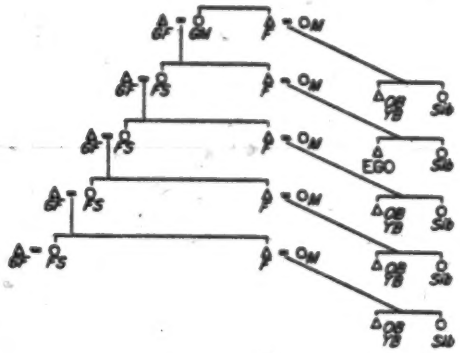

FIG. 10.—Father's lineage. Ego = male

relatives by marriage, and there is no direct term of address. In female ego's mother's lineage, women marrying into the lineage who are of the same generation or above are "sisters-in-law," a term also used by a female to designate her "husband's sister." A man's wife's brother is placed in the same class as his sister's husband. Men of the father's father's clan are called "grandfather," and all the women of the clan are called "grandmother" by both men and women. The latter lineage is not es-

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pecially important in Mandan social and ceremonial life, since individuals in the father's father's lineage usually occupy a closer relationship through marriage.

These lineages are the basis of the Mandan kinship structure; they extend kinship relations beyond the elementary family to the limits of the tribe; they regulate the behavior and social

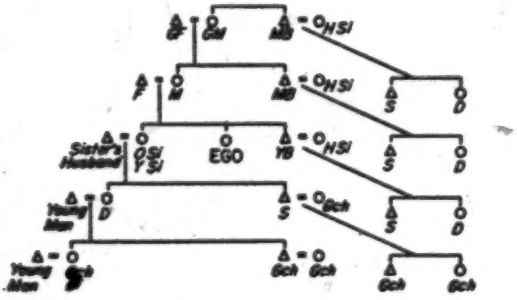

FIG. 11.—Mother's lineage. Ego = female

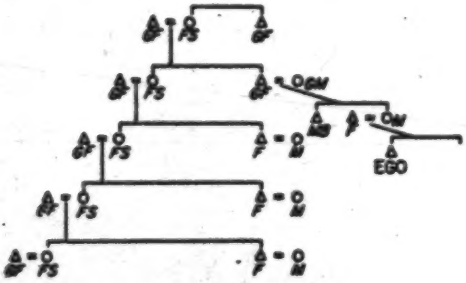

FIG. 12.—Mother's father's lineage. Ego = male

relations of the entire village. The extension of this lineage principle united the various villages into a tribal unit.

The Mandan had numerous methods of extending the range of kinship, and the character of the pattern resulting from this extension is important for an understanding of social integration. The Mandan treat everyone as a relative and recognize varying degrees of nearness of relationship. A person is considered to be related to everyone of his own clan and is a "son" to all males and females of his father's clan. Marriage introduces another set of relatives, and the custom of adopting a "son"

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603 the same clan as the boy's father, on occasions he received presents from his grandson during the ceremonies. A man addressed
[601] as "grandchild" the wives of all those men he addressed as "son" and the spouses of all he addressed as "grandchild."

603 *Grandmother–grandchild* (*maxis'–ptawi'hąkE*).—The maternal grandmother was always present and assisted in the birth
844 and care of her daughter's child and the paternal grandmother was expected to carry out the other's instructions. In case the paternal grandmother had a superior ceremonial bundle and a good reputation for successful deliveries, she was asked to take charge. The child's closest affection was for the grandmother belonging to the lodge group. The grandmother would make clothing for her grandchildren and teach them stories. The paternal grandmother delighted in preparing nice robes and other clothing for son's children and would invite them to her lodge to eat, when she would dress them in the pretty clothes. Informants thought that the father's mother showed more affection for a grandchild than a maternal grandmother, since the former did not have them under foot every day. They thought that grandmothers had a tendency to get cross as they grew old and that the maternal grandmother, while scolding children for jumping on her bed, would scold her own daughter if she thought the children were not treated right.

603 A grandmother was more closely associated with her granddaughter than her grandson. She would teach the granddaugh-
868 ter the arts of dressing hides and making pottery, and she ex-
601 pected payment for this instruction. The grandson was expected to give her meat if she met him at the outskirts of the village without having to ask him for it. This obligation to give meat to a grandmother was extended to include all females addressed as "grandmother." A woman addressed as "grandchild" the wives of all those men she addressed as "son" and the spouses of all she addressed as "grandchild."

604 *Mother's brother–sister's child* (*pta'warato'dE–ptu'hakE*).—The
592 mother's brother was a very important relative in the Mandan matrilinear system, as he had considerable authority over his
613 sister's household even when living in another household. As an occupant of his wife's lodge, he was a subordinate member, but in his sister's lodge, by virtue of his position as the oldest male

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clan member, he was titular head of the lineage. This authority was nominally vested in the oldest male clan member of the household, and the mother's brother assumed this authority when his own mother's brother died or was too feeble to get around. A clan chief was the most distinguished of the mother's brothers of the households comprising the clan. He had considerable authority over his sister's children. He would scold them and frequently ducked a sister's son in the river. At the same time he assumed the responsibility for their final education and participation in the ceremonies and assisted them in the accumulation of robes and horses for ceremonial purchases. He would urge his sister's sons to fast during the ceremonies and would see that they came out. He would tell his sister's sons that the people of the other clans would tease them if his clan was not well represented. He would take his sister's son with him on war expeditions to teach him success in that enterprise.

The mother's brother began early the training of his sister's sons and daughters in the rites of certain tribal bundles and was assisted by the children's mother. It was believed that some young people would not live to maturity; therefore, it was necessary to begin the instruction early in life so that several would know the rites to prevent the bundles from getting out of the household. Since many tribal bundles, particularly those of the Okipa, descended through the closest related male members of the clan, the mother's brother was an important relative for the perpetuation of the ceremonial office within the household. The rule of inheritance for tribal bundles belonging to the clan was: mother's mother's brother; mother's brother; older brother; sister's male child; sister's daughter's male child. Failure to have a qualified male of the household prepared to perform a specific role in the tribal ceremonies would provoke criticism and lead to eventual relinquishment of the bundle.

Father's sister–brother's child (*ptu'minikE-minuha'kE; ptu'-minikE-koni'kE*).—The Mandan speak of the father's sister as a "little grandmother." She was a respect relative by virtue of her possession of certain rights in her brother's bundles. She helped her mother when a brother's child was born and was invariably the one called upon to name a female child, supplying a name associated with a bundle owned in common with her brother.